1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

cide, adultery, and assault. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council; the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the *koret* council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to force the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 58). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the *koret* council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of stealing food may say, " If I am a thief, may this grass eat me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man incapacitates another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo of another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living alone the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

Summary

The Dorobo horde consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly by the feeling that they are all Dorobo, but much more by the clan ties which cut across the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dorobo.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

CRAFTS

Housing

(*a*) Forest type: the *koconget*, in use as late as 1927, was a framework of sticks bent over to form an oblong, dome-shaped structure, covered on the outside with banana leaves and leaves of trees; height, 6 ft.; length, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. (*b*) New types: the *keriet* has a circular wall about 5 ft. high plastered with mud, and an almost flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the *kot* is a hut of ordinary Nandi type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest, consisting of three or four *koconget* huts, were situated in clearings just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

Dress and Ornaments

Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the forms are mainly copied from those of the Nandi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, iron wire armlets and leglets, necklaces, and married women's ear-rings (*taok*). The ear-lobes are pierced and elongated (sometimes getting torn in the forest), and a small hole is bored in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisors. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 2 ins., when it is sometimes covered with a bladder cap, and sometimes dressed with red earth and fat. Occasionally a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Nandi.

Tools and Weapons

Axes and knives are obtained from Nandi smiths, the Dorobo making the wooden handles. Needles are made from old nails and bits of wire which the Dorobo

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

find lying about on the farms. The only weapon is the bow, *kuyayda*, which the Dorobo make themselves from the *kuriot* tree (*teviea* sp.); it is about 5 ft. long, and the bowstring, *inet*, is made from gut of the giant pig, *tumda*. Arrow-shafts are made from the *koromandet* and *masaita* trees, or from bamboo, *sosoiyat;* arrow-heads are bought from the Nandi, and are of the Nandi patterns. Arrows are carried in quivers made of hide. Arrow poison is made from the *keliot* bush (*acocanthera Schimperi*).

Baskets

Making baskets, *kerepet*, is a common occupation of Dorobo women. They are made from fibre of the *phœnix reclinata* palm, *sosiot*, and sewn with bast made from a plant called *taparaniot*. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat then gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn type and bee-skep variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together.

Miscellaneous

Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant *tepenguet* (*amilia integrifolia*). Red and white earth is found near Timboroa on the east of the Dorobo country, and men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large leather bags, mainly in order to sell it to the Nandi who, in 1939, gave them 2s. a bag. Red earth, *erokoit*, is mixed with fat or simsim oil for rubbing on the hair; white earth, *eworiot*, has magico-religious uses. For carrying a number of small objects a carrying-net called *lekuelet* is used; it is made of a pair of oval rims 3 ft. 6 ins. long with pieces of liana stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of handleless tennis rackets. These are sometimes used by the Nandi.

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

Asista, the sun, is recognized as a being that can supply or withhold the needs of people: *Asis, ipiiyec panyek*, "*Asis*, fill us with meat," is a common prayer. Some say that *Arana* the moon is his sister, others that she is his mother. Besides *Asis*, it is believed that there is a being called *Ilet*, the thunder, who produces rain, and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dorobo also believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called *cesowiloi*, a word which includes the *oiik* (ancestral spirits) and *musambuanik* (evil spirits) of the Nandi. The ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Nandi, and though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit the living, travelling in the bodies of snakes, both to see their people and to get food in the form of *lokomek* (honey and water); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

Divination

The Dorobo appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have recourse to divination, as in cases of illness or witchcraft, they go to Nandi diviners of the type called *sakeyuot*, by whom they are charged a small fee. The people called *orkoiyot* (pl. *orkoiik*) among the Dorobo are no more than leeches or physicians who prepare healing medicines from trees and plants. Although the Dorobo have a reputation among other tribes as powerful rain-makers, they themselves say that they have no rain-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 ft. deep in which the bodies are laid full length wearing their clothes; one year after an old man's death his children plant a branch of *mukupcot* (*dracæna* sp.) on his grave and let it grow. Other people are laid out for the hyenas, both sexes on the right side with

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

covered with a strip of soft hide—often that of reedbuck or impala—worked to a state of pliability resembling that of chamois leather. The barb is never coated with poison under any circumstance.

A small supply of fresh poison (*nguano*[1]) is sometimes carried in the heel of the quiver. This poison is a black, sticky mass made by boiling the leaves of a certain tree and is manufactured exclusively by the Wakamba. The Dorobo know nothing about it, hold it in considerable awe, and have never attempted to make poison of their own.[1]

In the quiver is also carried a fire-stick (*Ol-kiriañgeti*) and a fire-block (*sasamda*). The Dorobo are experts at making fire and scorn to use matches. A small flat spoon (*kanuléuandee*) for smearing poison on the arrow-heads is also carried—this spoon is made from the same wood as the bow; and a small knife for smoothing and rounding the arrow-shafts. This knife is called *orueta siléld*.[2] A wooden tube about twelve to eighteen inches long and a quarter of an inch in diameter, not unlike a peashooter, will always be found in a Dorobo quiver. This tube, called *endulee*, is used for drinking from pools which are shallow or which have a dirty, scummy surface. (It is a point of honour with every Dorobo and an unwritten bush law that a man should not stir up the mud in any water at which he drinks.) The *endulee* is also used to induce, by blowing through it, a blaze or clouds of smoke from lighted grass put into a hive to drive the bees away from the honey.

A Dorobo quiver, as we have seen, contains a large number of objects essential to the bush life that the Dorobo leads. It is scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that it is next to impossible to purchase a furnished one. A Dorobo once told me (I am sure he meant it) that he would not exchange his quiver and its contents for five oxen. The price habitually paid to the parents of a girl taken in marriage is from two to five arrows, and a demand on the parents' part for a full quiver would be regarded as extortionate.

The Dorobo may be seen sometimes with a small axe which

[1] That is, arrow poison. The Dorobo are reputed to have a powerful poison they mix with snuff. When inhaled, it is stated to have a fatal result. I have been unable to obtain a specimen of this poison and doubt its existence.

[2] Literally, "*Small knife.*"

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

differs little from that used by the Masai and many Bantu tribes. This axe is, primarily, a tool and not a weapon. They also carry the usual Masai club, which they call *rungu*'.[1] This club is used indiscriminately as a throwing or hitting weapon. The Dorobo are excellent shots with it, but are more expert with the bow. The latter weapon they seem to venerate; they are for ever holding archery competitions among themselves, and it is no uncommon sight to see a Dorobo dreamily twanging the taut string of his bow (often little shorter than himself) and deriving obvious pleasure from the sound produced thereby.

A skin bag or bottle, of the usual Masai pattern, is used to bring home honey collected in the bush. The Dorobo carry this, when full (the same remark applies to any other load), by means of a strap of bark or leather round the forehead. The load hangs between the shoulder-blades in the usual Masai fashion.

THE *MÔSIRO* AND *ARAMANIK* LANGUAGES

(A comparative list of numerals, words and tenses, with the equivalents in Masai and Nandi.)

The following symbols or marks have been used to assist in the correct pronunciation of the numerals and the short lists of words and tenses given. They have also been used throughout the text. Most of them are used as in Hollis's well-known works on the Masai and Nandi.

The symbol ~ when superimposed denotes that the *ñg* occurring in the word has the same sound as the English *singer*. In cases where it does not appear the *g* is hard.

A diaeresis has its usual grammatical significance.

´ denotes that the letter beneath it is definitely accented.

¯ denotes a long open vowel. *ee* has been used in some words to denote an inimitable, long, drawling sound.

An elevated letter (as in *dalo*^{h}) denotes that the letter in question is barely perceptibly sounded.

Where ^ appears over a vowel, it means that the latter has a

[1] This club is almost always made of the wood of a tree called by the Masai *Ol-oirien*. According to the authority quoted in Hollis, this tree is the wild olive (*Olea chrysophylla*). *Ol-oirien* may also mean the heart-wood of a tree (Hollis).

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

II.—Mode of Subsistence.

Houses.

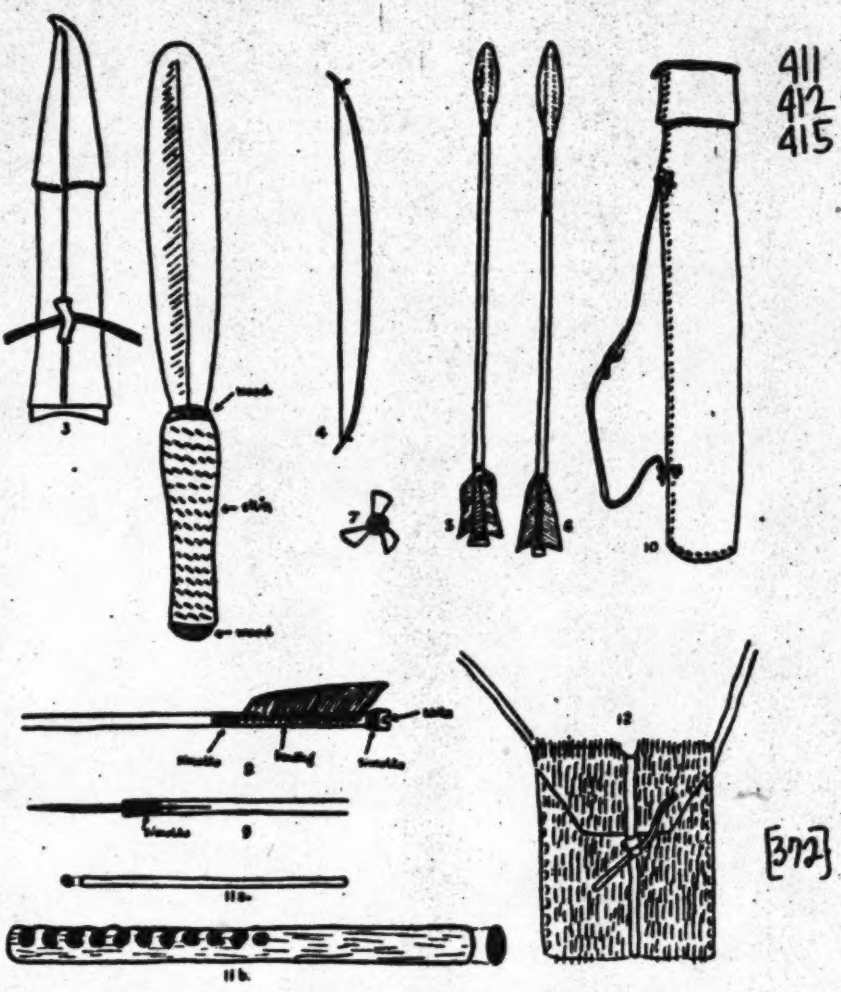
342 [361] The Dorōbo live in little shelters or huts (*kochongut*, pl. *kochongeiek*; N. *kwiet*) built in small clearings in the forest; they are made of a framework of sticks stuck in the ground, and bent over, forming a domed roof; the whole is covered on the outside with leaves of trees and banana leaves, which are insufficient, in spite of the addition of an ox-hide on the top, to keep the hut dry inside when it rains. The upright sticks are strengthened by others tied across them with tree-rope. The huts are oblong, with rounded ends, and are of the following average dimensions:—Height, 5 ft. 10 ins.; width, 7 ft. 6 ins.; length, 11 ft. They are occupied for two or three months, after which they become ruinous and "full of fleas," when the family moves to a fresh site. [590] Two to four people live in one hut. One group of huts we saw contained two huts, and had contained a third which had been pulled down. The huts are divided into two parts, the sleeping-place (*itūkto*, N.) and the fire-place, which are separated by two or three poles laid across the floor of the hut, [353] on one side of which are laid ox-hides (*mučnik*; N. *musiuek*), upon which the occupants [513] eat and sleep; at night they cover themselves with skins. In the other half of the hut is the door (*kurket*, N.), about 2 ft. high. Some huts have two doors, opposite [354] each other. Between the door and the sleeping-place is the hearth (*mūt*, N.), consisting of two or three smallish stones set on the floor. A loft (*sainet*, N.) is sometimes made in this part of the hut, extending across the width, and ending at the beginning of the sleeping-place. The loft is about 2 ft. 6 ins. above the floor, and is made of thin sticks supported on thicker cross-sticks, and tied together with [251] tree-rope. Upon it are kept firewood and eleusine grain (Text-figs. 26–28). The [372] only household utensils are a small broom (*wdtutiet*) about 14 ins. long, made of [412] a bush-buck's tail fastened to a thin wooden handle, for sweeping the floor; "water [415] jars" (*soiyet*) made of a hollowed piece of bamboo about 2½ ins. wide and 2 ft. 8 ins. long; a grindstone (*litēto*, N.) made of granite, for sharpening knives, [439] and for grinding eleusine grain. Gourds and earthenware pots are obtained from the Nandi; the Dorōbo have no stools. Fire is produced by means of fire-sticks (*piinet*; N. *piōnet*) (Text-figs. 11*a*, 11*b*). A thin stick of the choruet tree (N.),[1] about 15 ins. long and ½ in. thick, is stood upright on a stick of cedar (*iest*)[2] about 26 ins. long and 1 in. wide. The thin stick is called piinet, the cedar stick tasamet. The piinet is held between the palms of the hands, and the hands are rapidly rubbed together, beginning at the top of the piinet and working downwards (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 2). This is repeated until fire is obtained; the piinet drills a hole in the tasamet, and the heated wood-dust thus produced falls on to a knife-blade which is placed underneath. When sufficient heat is obtained it is laid on a small bundle of tinder (*sasyat* (dry grass) or fibre of the porōwet[3] tree), and blown till the tinder kindles.

372

[1] *Ficus* sp. [2] *Juniperus procera*. [3] *Dombeya* sp.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 F16 Dorobo F16

411
412
415



[372]

FIG. 3.—IRON KNIFE (*Chambolust*) AND LEATHER SHEATH. FIG. 4.—BOW (*kuyetigde*). FIGS. 5, 6.—ARROWS (*kitiek*). (5. N. *chepilolgiot* type. 6. N. *kipchepet* type.) FIG. 7.—BUTT END OF ARROW, SEEN IN CROSS-SECTION. FIG. 8.—DIAGRAM SHOWING ATTACHMENT OF FEATHERS TO ARROW. FIG. 9.—METHOD OF ATTACHING ARROWHEAD TO SHAFT. FIG. 10.—SKIN QUIVER (*mostiet*). FIG. 11.—FIRESTICKS: (a) *piiart*, (b) *tiamnet*. FIG. 12.—SKIN BAG (*motobut*). LENGTH, 8 INS.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

411 [237] *Bows.*—These are made from the kuriot (N.) tree, and average 5 ft. 1 in. in length. The string (*inet*, N.), which is made from the entrails of the giant pig (*tumda*, N.), is tied to the bow (Text-fig. 4).

[239] *Arrows.*—The iron heads (*kipchápet*) are bought from the Nandi, and are usually of the Nandi shapes called chepilofigiot (Text-fig. 5) and kipchapet (Text-fig. 6) (H.N. Figs. 33, 34). They are from 2½ ins. to 4 ins. long. They are always tanged, and are inserted in a slit made in the arrow-shaft (Text-fig. 9) and bound with fibre or skin binding (*simolto*). The shafts are made of the soosiyat (bamboo), massaita, and koromandet trees, and are of an average length of 2 ft. There are three feathers (*kororik*, N.), which are split and trimmed, and fastened to the shaft by a spirally-bound cord (Text-fig. 8). The shaft immediately above the feathers is bound with skin *simolto*; the notch (*suita*) is shouldered, and bound over the shoulder with a skin *simolto*. The length of the feathers is 2 ins. to 2¾ ins. Arrows are kept in a quiver (Text-fig. 10) (*mootiet* N.; *mboñgit*) of leather, and about 2 ft. 3½ ins. long, with a leather cap and a sling for carrying it round the body. (For the position assumed by Dorobo for shooting with the bow, *see* H.N., Pl. VII.)

412 *Knives.*—The iron blades are bought from the Nandi. They vary in length from 9 ins. to 12 ins., and are about 1¼ ins. wide. The handles are about 5 ins. long, of wood, with spiral marks cut in them, and covered with skin, which is pressed into the marks so that they show through the skin. The knives are carried in leather sheaths (*choket*, N.) which are attached to leather belts (*topsienet*, N.) (Text-fig. 3).

(*b*) Leather.

281 Skins are dressed and trimmed, and furnish, besides articles of dress and bedding, quivers, sheaths and bags. The ordinary type of bag is called motoket. 415 It is used for various purposes, including carrying honey; for honey-bags, the fur is removed. Bags for carrying other things are made of antelope skin (e.g. *kipsoket*, blue duiker) with the fur left on, and flaps to shut them, which are fastened by a [482] skin cord tied round the bag (Text-fig. 12). They are slung from the shoulders by a skin cord. Small bags are about 7 ins. by 6½ ins.; others are larger.

(*c*) Baskets (*kereret*, pl. *kereponik* (N.)).

285 [462] These are made by the women. They resemble Nandi baskets of the same name. The upright straws in the baskets are called taparik; the cross straws, sosik (N. = *Phœnix reclinata* palm). The bottoms are flat and are made of skin, which is sewn to the sides. Some have a handle of skin. The average depth of the baskets is 6 ins., width at top 6½ ins. (Text-fig. 21).

(*d*) Miscellaneous.

482 For carrying things in the forest, a contraption called lekwelet (N.) is used (Text-fig. 23). It consists of two oval objects somewhat like tennis-rackets fastened

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

together. The rim is made of a single stick bent in an oval and the ends bound together; across it are fastened pieces of tree-rope.[1] Grindstones (*littō*, N.) have already been mentioned.

The Dorôbo have no knowledge of metallurgy, and they have no musical instruments, pottery, or, apparently, objects of ivory. Metal-work and pottery they buy from the Nandi.[2]

Trade and Commerce.

Trade is by barter. The Dorôbo give the Nandi baskets, dressed skins, and bows in exchange for ironwork, tobacco, pottery, beads, and other necessaries which they cannot produce themselves. There are no special market-places, but goods are taken to any place where there are Nandi, and there exchanged.

Land.

(i) *Tenure.*—The forest is divided by the elders into sections, and each family has its own section of forest. The boundaries between family holdings may be paths or rivers.

(ii) *Geographical Divisions.*—The Dorôbo divide their country into divisions called *koret*, pl. *koroseek* (N.). The chief divisions appear to be called Kipkorom, Sirua, Kimurienge, Sosoiyo (bamboo, N. *tekut*), and Mokopich. The majority of the present place-names are Nandi.

The points of the compass are called as follows:—North and South: Murot (N.). East: Ye-torur (N. *ulin-durur* = up). West: Ye-'rek-to (= where(-the-sun)-descends-thither).

III.—Government.

The Kâmelilo-Kâpchepkendi Dorôbo have now no chief. The last to hold office was Parîgetuny[3] arap Ñgamîgam, who was chief at the time of the Nandi Punitive Expedition, 1905. He is still alive, though he no longer holds office. The chief was elected, and the office was not hereditary. The chief (*kiruogindet* (N.)=councillor) was chosen for "ligelyepta kitio" ("tongue only" = sense, ability and position). The only form of Government that exists now is a council of elders (*kiruoget ap poiisiek*, N.), who meet and decide on matters which are brought to them. They seem to have little power of enforcing obedience to their decisions, though they claim

[1] This is described and illustrated, although it is a Nandi use, since H.N. does not mention it.

[2] On the use of horns, *see* V, "Miscellaneous." These can hardly be considered as instruments of music.

[3] N. = lion-killer.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

it himself; but this was regarded as unusual in the case of a married man with a comparatively young wife (his wife Cepkumuren was at that time about 25).

While the sexes within the horde are interdependent, the horde as a whole is dependent on the outside world as represented by the Nandi. Not only do some Dorobo now actually live with Nandi, but they depend on them entirely for all their articles of iron, without which they cannot hunt. Socially, however, symbiosis is increasing. Sometimes unattached old men like Arap Cepsuku, who was about 70 at the time of my visit, live in huts occupied by Nandi: Arap Cepsuku himself was then living with an old woman at Kipkorom, sharing her hut, and growing a little eleusine at one end of her shamba, but merely as a lodger, having no sexual relations with her, for which both were too old. As he was a poor old man, she fed him and looked after him for nothing. This is true symbiosis, as the late Dr. SELIGMAN called it, and the principle is greatly extended by the Dorobo. For, whatever may be the collective attitude of Nandi to Dorobo, and of Dorobo to Nandi, the Dorobo depend on the Nandi for certain essentials, and the Nandi look to the Dorobo for certain things which they can get most easily from them. To the Dorobo, the Nandi, in the shape of the Nandi blacksmith, is indispensable, and the good will of the Nandi people is equally essential if they are to make use of his services.

The Dorobo do not specialize. Every man learns to make all the things he needs for bee-keeping and hunting (except those made of iron); every women learns to make baskets and prepare skins. The raw materials exist close at hand, and may be grouped under 5 heads:

(A) Wood: used for huts, implements, honey-barrels, traps, fuel.
(B) Plant material: used for food, medicine, salt, baskets, and tinder.
(C) Skins and other animal products: used for clothing, bags, roofs, etc.; dung, used to a limited extent for plastering walls.
(D) Earth and stone: coloured earth for painting; granite for grindstones; earth for plastering walls.

(A) Wood. The following trees are used for making weapons, utensils, etc.:

Kuriot (teclea sp.): bows; house-building; honey-barrels.
Masaita: arrow-shafts; firewood.
Koromandet: arrow-shafts.
Sosoiyat (bamboo): arrow-shafts; internodes used as water jars.
Ketuyuwet: traps.
Kimoluet (vangueria edulis): traps.
Keliot (acocanthera Schimperi): arrow-poison.
Lepekuet (dracaena sp.): house-building; honey-barrels.
Kipsepuet (tilia sp.): house-building; honey-barrels.
Marorta: house-building; honey-barrels; fire-wood.
Sasuriet (wild banana, musa ensete): house-building; honey-barrels.
Tenetuet: honey-barrels; fire-wood.
Poroet (liana): traps; honey-barrels; house-building; any purpose for which rope is required.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

313 *Rereshi* (euphorbia candelabrum) : honey-barrels.
824 *Mocet:* honey-barrels.
Olawiyoit or *Yemdit* (olive, olea chrysophylla) : fire-wood.
Enyasiek: fire-wood.
Corust (ficus sp.) : fire-sticks.
Tost (cedar, juniperus procera) : fire-sticks.

824 (B) Plant material. The following trees and plants provide material for food, salt, medicines, and utensils*:

[372] *Sasiat* (dry grass) : tinder for making fire with fire-sticks.
285 † *Taparariet:* fibre for baskets.
[278] *Sosiot* (phoenix reclinata palm) : fibre for baskets.
† *Tiinet:* medicine.
† *Opeito:* medicine.
Rerendet: medicine.
Lepuywet: medicine.
Situturt: medicine.
Sekutet: medicine.
Usuet (ardisia sp.) : medicine.
[263] *Tepenguet* (acmilia integrifolia) : salt.
Serenguet: salt.
[273] *Rutinuet* or *Rutiet* (kigelia aethiopica) : making honey-wine.

825 (C) Skins and animal products. These include:

237 † Monkey : food ; clothing.
[291] † Antelope : food ; clothing ; bags ; quivers.
[411] Pig-gut : bow-strings.
Feathers : arrows.
† Honey : food ; wine ; ritual purposes.
Ram's fat : ritual purposes.
[583] Goats : bride-payment ; ritual purposes.
Cattle : bride-payment ; milk ; dung ; hides.
[412] Bush-buck : tails for brooms.

285 The basket most commonly made by the Dorobo is the small *kewpet*, about 6 inches deep and 6 ½ inches wide at the top. This kind of basket is used a good deal by the Dorobo themselves, and is also a frequent article of sale or exchange to the Nandi : *kinapei kereponik Nandi*, "we make baskets for the Nandi", as an old woman said. Dorobo women make baskets when they [439] [461] have nothing particular to do, just as European women knit. The materials used are fibre from the midrib of the *sosiot* palm, which is split into thin strips, and bast from a plant called *taparariet* which is used for sewing the coils of fibre with the aid of a small needle (Fig. 1).[½] The basket maker starts by splitting the *sosiot* fibre, preparing a certain length and biting it off as she

[439] * Things marked with a dagger † are used in the preparation of objects given to the Nandi in exchange for their products.

½ [i.e. see category 116 & 617 - ANALYST.]

Schuntzgford E-5 (1930-1939) 1953 PLA Dorobo PLA

waste it, i.e. as the bone and gets thin, a new end is shaved under the binding; the bast is kept handy in a bundle. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat, then gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-over type, and bow-shop variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together. The base of the basket is formed of six fibre coils, sewn together with bast. A hole is made with the needle, and the bast is pushed through it. At frequent intervals the fibre and the bast are moistened with the lips. After the first six coils, a slight rise is made; as each coil makes a complete circle it is slightly raised in order to make the bend between the base and the sides. When a new piece of bast is needed it is shaved right through the hole, leaving about ½ to 1 inch on the other side, and is sewn through as before. The basket maker works with lengths of bast of 6 to 12 inches. The fibre coil is of about the thickness of a pencil, and this must be maintained. When the length of fibre is reduced to about 3 ft. it begins to get thin, and some new strips must be added by shaving off a further length. The structure of the basket is thus, in effect, a continuous coil of compressed fibre, each line of coil tied to the next by stitches of bast. Sometimes the base is made of a circular piece of leather, to which the first coil is sewn, the rest of the procedure being the same as for the all-fibre basket. 325

The dressing of skins, including those used for exchange, is a simple process, for no chemical agent is applied. The newly flayed skin is tightly pegged out on the ground while it is still wet and left to dry in the sun. When dry, it becomes stiff, and in this state it is rubbed with an axe-blade held at an angle of about 20°, the blade being rubbed backwards and forwards till the skin is soft and supple. If it is to be used for a woman's garment or other object in which fur is not needed, both sides are rubbed. Skins are dressed by women. Apart from clothing, the chief objects made of skin are bags, quivers, and parts of tobacco-boxes. The material used for sewing is generally pig-gut. The needle of course has no eye, and the method of sewing is therefore to make a hole with the needle and then push the gut through it. Bags, moreover, are used for many purposes, including the carrying of honey and coloured earth. They are generally made of antelope skin (e. g. blue duiker), and unless intended for honey the fur is left on the outside. They are provided with a flap, a strap for fastening and a sling for carrying them from the shoulder. A common size is 7 ins. by 6 ½ ins., but I have seen them as big as 18 ins. by 16 ins. Tobacco-boxes are made from internodes of bamboo, but they have leather covers at each end, and a thin leather strap is sewn to the covers so that the owner can sling the box round his neck. 331 [265] [266] [267] [268] [269] 405 [325] [276]

The nature of Dorobo life demands exchange of products with the Nandi. The most important of the products they get by exchange is ironwork; other things are pottery, beads, tobacco, cereal seeds, and cattle, and a fairly definite, though possibly fluctuating, scale of exchange values has come into existence. In 1930 some of these values were: 434 436

1 axe for 1 bagful of honey.
1 arrowhead for a gourd full of honey.
2 knives for 1 day's weeding in the blacksmith's shamba.

Lillooet-England R-1 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorothy FLA

that made of hollowed-out logs. A suitable log is cut of such a length as to allow for a length of about 3 ft. 6 in. in the finished article. Trees specially favoured for making honey-barrels are the *mesat* and *ramalal*, on account of the ease with which they can be worked; others used are the *kwatsut*, *xilgwat*, *kyakwat*, *kiyaulpwat*, and *mawuzis*. The entire work of shaping and cutting is done with the axe. The log is first split into two equal halves longitudinally, which are then hollowed out, leaving sides about an inch thick. In the bottom of one half an oblong hole is cut, through which the bees can enter and the owner put his hand to take honey. Four holes are bored in the sides of each half with a red-hot boring-needle (Fig. 1), and when the two halves are put together, lines is threaded through the holes to hold them in place.

The *slat* barrel, not so common as the dug-out because of the difficulty of making the end-pieces, is made of strips or slats of strong bark, the most and *ramalal* trees being favourites for this purpose. The ends are formed of two solid circles of wood which have to be cut laboriously from a log and trimmed to shape. The bark slats are then put in position round the end-pieces and bound together with lines, a sticky piece of *mesh*, as anyone who has had to do a similar job will realize, and to get the barrel into place in the tree also requires great care, since it easily collapses if roughly handled. A hemlock hole is made in the under side, as in the dug-out type (Fig. 1, 2).

Fig. 1. Dug-out Honey-barrel.

When a man puts up a new honey-barrel, he calls out to the bees to come and settle in it [1]. The invocation to bees has a set form, and is uttered in a rather exalted, high-pitched tone:

Xalkan, xalkan, or mel-ne-mentmaura tsilel, ca gaut [2] *anyan, xealalkan,*
Gaa, kan, wha-ne to cosstmen-tlaus-ch, costa-kwa ayu, gaut-te (kwaay),
xealalkan [3].
gaut-te (kwaay).

Bees do not get ill, they say, but are liable to be killed by heavy rain if they are caught in a storm while getting honey. They have also a number

[1] One swarm take off from a bee colony when it becomes congested. Young queens are allowed to develop, and the old queen leads off a swarm to find a new home.

[2] This obscure expression is said to be equivalent to *Gaya ya*, "come here".

[3] The Dentlan have borrowed this formula, and always it is *Gaya xealalkan nemen tsi ne kalus*, "come ye, gnat-ess into the warm tree".

Kilhuntingfund E-5 (1936-1939) 1955 FLA Dorobo FLA

the bow. Quivers are made of ox-hide. Arrow-poison is made from the bush called *kabet* (*acocanthera Schimperi*), the use of which the Kamîl say was discovered by the Dorobo[1]. It is made in this way: leaves and branches are broken off and boiled in a pot for several hours. The resulting liquid is strained and boiled again till it becomes thick and tar-like. When cool it is placed on a sheet of bark, covered with another piece of bark and put in a tree out of the reach of children, together with the pot in which it was boiled. After making poison a man must purify himself by bathing in a river. *Kabet* poison acts very quickly, but does not make the whole of the animal killed by it unfit to eat. The flesh round the site of entry is cut away and destroyed, and the rest is eaten with safety.

The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs (*mdeke*, pl. *mdekik*) which at one time were the only animals they kept. They still have dogs, but the hunting breed which I saw in the Kolpsi-Kipkoreon area in 1927, seems to have died out, for though I saw a few dogs there in 1938, they were nothing more than the ordinary native type, the thin-coated cur so common in Native Reserves and on farms wherever Africans are found. The original breed, as I saw it in 1927, had, as a true, a tightly curled tail, but was a much better looking animal, of a different shape, and much larger, resembling the so-called 'basenji' dog of the Belgian Congo[2] more than anything else, especially in its prick ears, tail, and carriage, though it could bark. When in the forest, the Dorobo put leather collars on their dogs, with a small bell under the throat so that they could tell where the animals were when they put up game. It was noticeable both in 1927 and 1938 that the Dorobo treated their dogs better than Africans usually do — they paid more attention to them, played with them, and fondled them.

The traps used by the Kipkoreon are of two kinds: the pit-trap, and the springe. The pit-trap, *ngoret*, is simply an oblong pit about 6 to 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, dug with digging-sticks, and the earth removed in bags or baskets. Wooden spikes, *kipsoriyoiat*, were often set in the bottom, and the whole was covered with thin sticks concealed by a layer of grass and leaves. The trap was dug across a path known to be used by buffalo, the animal it was chiefly intended to catch. This type is no longer used. The springe is the only trap used to-day. It is called *ginoret*, and can be made in a very short time by almost any Dorobo. It is used chiefly to catch smaller game like antelope. The materials required to make a springe are wood, bone, and grass, and the only tool used is an axe or *panga* (the long-bladed knife or cutlass common in Africa, and now often used by Dorobo). The trap about to be described was made for me on the edge of the forest at Kipkoreon by Cainda arap Kurum on 9 July 1938. It took him about 12 minutes from start to finish, and did all that was claimed for it; it should be noted that he was somewhat out of practice, and probably took a little longer than a man who was constantly making traps.

[1] Cf. Hobley, The Wanderobo, Oxford 1929, p. 106.
[2] Cf. Capt. G. Dieudonné in Journ. Roy. African Soc. 36, 1937, 168.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

241 [221] The planting and reaping periods vary according as the rains are early or late. Between them there is a time when the crops have to be weeded, and after that for two or three months a time when little need be done to the crops but guard them against animal depredations.

The Dorobo grow two main crops, *pik* or *potok*, *eleusine coracana* (commonly known in Kenya as *wimbi*), a short graminaceous plant having a head composed of small grains; and *ejamakok*, maize. Millet had not been adopted by 1939 as a cultivated crop, and when wanted had to be bought [195] from the Nandi. As a subsidiary crop, sweet potatoes, *rukomik*, are grown to a small extent.

● [212] Implements are confined to the hoe (*pukuwiet*), axe (*ishiet*), and ordinary knife (*asubuiet* or *ratet*), though the use of the *panga* or native [195] is spreading. Hoe-blades (made by Nandi smiths) and *pangas* (sold by traders) are got from the Nandi in exchange for baskets, honey, or skins. The billhook, though used by the Nandi had not been adopted by the Dorobo in 1939.

The ground is prepared in the same way as by the Nandi. The top soil is dug with the hoe, collected into small heaps, and fired; it is left smouldering for several days and the burnt earth and vegetable ash are then spread over the plot and dug in with the hoe. Seed of maize and eleusine is [194] bought from any Nandi who is willing to sell it, usually one of the numerous [195] squatters on the nearby farms[*]. The Dorobo get two basketfuls in exchange for one basket. Potatoes (when not got in the same way) are generally grown by eleusines, less maize and eleusine are planted together in the same pits so that the eleusine grows up between the maize plants. Maize has thus to be sown wider than is really economic, but it is a Nandi habit, and in favour of it one may say that the intervening spaces are partially covered and thus there is a chance of preventing some erosion in the early stage when the ground is clean, for when the crop is a few inches high, people turn out to weed, a process rejected if the land gets very dirty.

[197] Each shamba is surrounded by a loose mesh of thorns and bushes, with occasional posts to strengthen it where necessary, and trees or stumps are included in the fence when they occur in suitable positions. Sometimes there is a gate formed of movable upright poles, like the gate of a Nandi cattle-enclosure, but usually the line of fence is unbroken, and access is by way of a rough stile of logs laid across the thorns.

243 Eleusine is reaped in the Nandi fashion by cutting off the heads with a knife, the straw being left to be trampled down and eventually dug in — that is, if the shamba is to be planted again. Maize is picked by hand, but in 1938 it was largely eaten on the field as the cobs developed, so that by the time it was fully ripe there was not much left to reap. By 1939, however, some [197] Dorobo of Kipsikon, noticing the European practice of stacking maize in cribs before it is ripe, cut and stacked their own in the same way, though they did not understand why it was done by the Europeans, whose objects

[*] A Squatter is a "resident native labourer" living on a farm under contract with the employer.

[illegible] 1910 FL23 Ideal
Dorobo FLS
Asa

/391 cont./

ol bobongo, i.e., hut of the unmarried men, in contrast to the *ol* to olosho, the camp of the married. Therefore here, too, we find, even in the camps, a separation into kraal of the married and kraal of the warriors, similar to the one mentioned for the Masai.

The arrangement of the interior of the hut, like the form itself, resembles that of the Masai in furnishings, however, are even poorer. A honey pot (*nadik*, *nadinge*), a gourd bottle (*ngai*) for drinking water and honey beer, a leather bag (*lebeus*, *lebeusi*) for collecting honey, a larger one (*nian*, *nianeuik*) for water, a few earthen pots, larger ones (*dog*, *idig*) and smaller ones (*ngoibe*, *ngoibe*) for cooking, a couple of wooden bowls (*ng*), a rope cut out of an animal skin (*ekara*, *ekarage*) to tie up the skin coat, a cord twisted out of the bark fibers of the baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) for the drawing up and letting down of the beehives hung in trees (*ewoligat*), along with a few dehaired skins (*bibi*) that serve as beds, as well as an (*ba'ka*, *baanga*) and knife (*pandang*), constitute the principal household equipment. In a few huts one also finds the ax *dawra* /*park-holdens*/ of the Masai, here called *lolabo* (*lolawua*). *ol'oibi* or a hammer (*ol'oibi*) for forging and a chisel for designing the arrow points (*nat*, *nare*), and finally that sharpened small piece of sheet iron serving as razor-knife (*kad*, *kaaga*). The entire family, namely, husband, wife or wives, and the unmarried children, live in one /*bibi*/ hut. Men and boys, however, are usually out. The day begins even before daybreak for the hunting men. They set out with a snack consisting of a little piece of boiled or roasted meat, so that the first light of day already finds them in the hunting grounds. The game now between hunt; as they say, it then feels more eagerly and carelessly than a few hours later, when the sun already becomes annoying to it. *Ol kaybibuk* women and children leave the huts forward and water are carried up in order to cook the meat hunted from a ladder lowered to a nearby cave. The meat is kept there and not in the camps, so that it longs to the air and thus remains fresh longer. After that the morning meal is eaten. Actually the Wandorobo do not have definite mealtimes so long as there is something edible they simply eat as long as they can.

/333 cont./ As there, the tanned hides are sewed into articles of clothing with an awl (maremeog) and a thread twisted out of animal tendons (aeng). If a number of hides for which, at the moment, one has no need for one's own use has piled up, a few old men with women and children, laden with skins and also steppe salt, set out for a neighboring area. Where the distance between this and the Wandorobo camp is such that it permits frequent trade, these caravans appear at the regularly held markets. If, however, they are able to come only rarely, they peddle their wares, inasmuch as, out of ignorance of time reckoning, they do not wait for the market days. They readily find customers, since both articles are very much in demand. The agriculturalist principally dependent on a vegetable diet always needs salt, but he can only rarely extract it himself, since as a rule the arable soil contains no salt or such not in sufficient quantities. The need for hides /334/ is also often greater than the local production, even today when fabrics have largely replaced the leather clothing. After protracted haggling, an agreement is finally reached, and the [illegible] set out for home with the bartered vegetables. If the hunting was sometimes particularly lucrative or if an elephant or rhinoceros was killed, part of the meat would also be sold to the always meat-hungry agriculturalists. Many of the latter, for example, the Wataita and Wakamba, also buy the meat of predatory animals from the Wandorobo, whom disdain it altogether, and therefore, in trading, they test each piece for smell and taste.

Old men, who only now and then in the evening lie in wait for game at a watering place, devote themselves outside the camp especially to the checking and supervision of the beehives (Fig. 88), a large number of which hang within an hour's range. These are wooden tubes 151 centimeters long and /Fig. 88 appears here/ 34 centimeters thick, with an interior breadth of about 23 centimeters. They are made by hollowing out a correspondingly long piece of tree trunk, a very arduous task because the tools are so primitive. After the trunk, through hewing with an ax, appears circular in cross-section and tapered at both ends, it is smoothed on the outside with a knife (mukiyo). Two instruments are used for the hollowing out

1. [i.e., among the Masai--Amliyet]

/234 cont./

231 322 [412] the first consists of the ax blade stuck into a wooden handle like a knife and is used as a paring chisel; the other is a hollow chisel (aja) with which one smooths the tubes on the inside. The two openings are closed corklike by flat wooden covers fitting into the opening, into each of which two holes permit entry for the wild bees. For hanging, one puts around the middle part two loops twisted out of lianas, which are connected, handlelike, by a plaiting of lianas, like the straps of a holdall. The beehive is picked up by this handle with a hooked branch, at the upper end of which is lashed a second one with a hook on top. With the latter the whole thing is hung in the branches of taller trees. On the side hanging downward the beehive bears an ownership mark. As a rule it is the same as the one that is burned on the long tang or on the extension tang of the arrow point. On the beehive one finds either whole or only its lower part. Before the honey is removed /235/ the bees are driven out by a very smoky fire kindled under the tree (1).

231 [283]

Fig. 81. (1/10)

[922]

[711] 1. I never observed among the El dorobo a stupefying of the bees by means of Bovista (Lycoperdon), such as I saw on Kilimandscharo among the Wadschaggs.

/235 cont./

411 322 [283] [237] with fat several times, it is bent over the fire. The string is plaited together, turning and braidlike, out of short animal tendons and is extended by further interweaving up to the required length. The projecting starting-ends of the individual pieces of tendon are neatly cut off, whereupon one then rubs the now finished bowstring with some fat.

The arrow shaft (Fig. 84) is carved out of a dry wooden stick, first rounded, then smoothed by scraping. The upper end is wound [237] [824] with tendons that have been coated with the varnishlike juice of a not yet described species of gladiolus known as dirigé, whereupon, [412] on top, one drills in the one- /236/ /Figs. 83 and 84 appear here/ 411 centimeter-long hole for the tang of the arrow by a twirling motion [237] with a thin wooden chisel. At the lower end the three-part feather- [136] ing -- out of the feathers of the carrion vulture (Neophron perc- [283] nopterus) -- is first fastened on by being wrapped with a very fine [824] bast thread and then glued fast with the gladiolus juice just mentioned. Another wrapping of animal tendons is found between the feathering and the rear notch for the bowstring, in order to prevent a splitting of the shaft.

[325] [322] [191] [439] The people buy the iron points; only if a point breaks off /237/ do they as a rule forge a new one for themselves. Clubs are carved from a piece of wood, as among the Masai. They buy the spears, of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the blacksmiths of the Masai. The spears serve as weapons only in the camp, where shooting with arrows is not permitted, on account of the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned.

415 439 [285] The Asa for the most part buy wooden bowls and gourd bottles from sedentary tribes. On the other hand, in some places they plait shallow baskets, which they use for storing food.

524 829 191 The fact that the Wandorobo do not play the board game so popular among the Masai was explained to me by them with the words "During the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our families, would have to starve."

512 517 [273] [535] [533] With the coming of darkness complete stillness as a rule comes over the camps, quiet even during the day; the day's work is done and everyone goes to his hut. Only on moonlit evenings do the old people often still sit in the open for a few hours, talking, with a gourd bottle of honey beer, while the young men and girls dance and let their falsetto song ring out through the still night, from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 313]

/253 cont./

302 [171] [412] [304] [154] manner as among the Masai, but here the eyebrows are also shaved by both sexes. The nails are cut with an ordinary two-edged knife. The two middle lower incisors are not broken out for everyone. Hair and nail cuttings are thrown away or hidden at some distance from the kraal, so that they will not fall into the hands of an evil sorcerer, who would be able to make from them sorcery leading to a sickness for their former wearer.

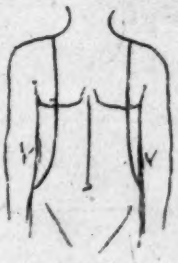


Fig 87.

302 531 [386] The young men and girls color their entire bodies with a paint made out of fat and red earth (ol garis), or the former also only legs and lower arms, and then wipe off the color again in serpentine lines (lama) that run parallel an inch apart. After killing an elephant [171] the happy hunter paints his chest with three lines, the two outer ones of which go from the collarbone over the nipples to the hips, the middle one from the chest to the navel (Fig. 87), or they paint

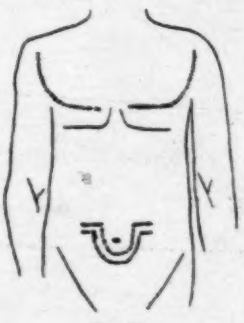


Fig. 88.

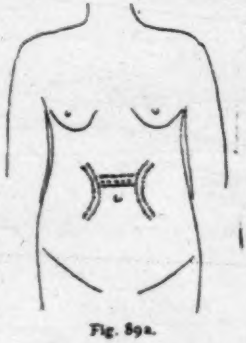


Fig. 89a.

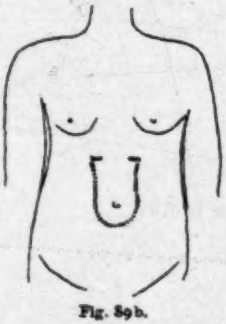


Fig. 89b.

their whole bodies, with the exception of the abdomen, with white and red stripes (like the Masai warriors). The former painting they [192] call katadiridi, the latter they designate with the Masai word eh gituñguat. At feasts the men draw a line with the powder ol mogoñgora = root, from the upper lip upward over nose and forehead to the hairline. Boys (Fig. 88) and girls (Fig. 89) tattoo the lyre 304 figure /254/ of the Masai, the latter also another similar one on the 171 abdomen. Not infrequently one also finds on the face of the women [531] the etched-in ol kigerot design, which has been discussed for the Masai.